

## SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CRISIS NEAR END IN ITALY

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and the unconscious attitude of their own leaders. It was hoped earlier in the year that Signor Giolitti, when he promised a bill dealing with the question, might, by some fortuitous chance, have dropped across a formula which would be acceptable to both parties. Those who thought so were soon grievously disappointed. The bill was of a very ordinary character, and would practically have taken all control out of the hands of the employers, who, nevertheless, would have to carry the risks and responsibilities.

It certainly might be useful to set up some law which would lead to the improvement in the technical training of the workman and to the betterment of factory life, to improve the methods of working, so that the output would be larger and carried out more economically, as well as to improve relations between employer and employee. As the bill was of a very ordinary character, it is going to give away to his workmen the control on points dealing with the methods of production, the costs of production, the method of purchasing, and the price of raw material. These are points which do not concern the workmen, but are the most delicate in regard to competition.

Further, at the commission of control, the employer would have absolutely no vote, the nine representatives of the workmen, engineers, etc., simply saying what they liked and carrying it into effect. The proprietors also feel that they should be at liberty to dismiss employees who prove themselves incapable, inept and afflicted with general laziness, which is not allowed by the clauses of the bill introduced last season. As a matter of fact, neither owners nor labor will accept the bill if it is reintroduced in the new Parliament to meet in June.

### Socialists Oppose Bill.

Even the Socialists, headed by Turati, are against the bill, declaring that it is merely a political move; that while they are against any political or moral collaboration, nevertheless they are willing to have a technical partnership. Even the permanent Committee on Labor has pointed out the futility of having a control in which the industrial proprietors are not represented. The industrial leaders throughout the country have unanimously rejected the bill on two principal grounds—(1) that after the troubles of last September the owners in certain industries were obliged to make certain concessions—factory committees, etc.—and that any further concessions will only augment the disorganization already rampant and destroy all confidence in industry, both at home and abroad; (2) that no form of control could possibly be accepted from which the owners are excluded.

Already before the seizure of the factories revolutionary factory committees had been established in some of them, especially in Turin, where the local workers' organizations of an extreme violent tendency openly flouted the big labor syndicates, such as the Federazione Metallurgica, and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro. The plan of factory committee was only adopted by

the Confederazione Generale in September, 1919, being introduced to its bosom by the communist and revolutionary sections.

Of course it was claimed that the factory committees had no revolutionary ends in view. According to their leaders they were intended to insert into the workmen love of work and production, making them acquainted with the real conditions of industry. But can a leap and change its spots? But the cat was let out of the bag by Gino Baldesi, secretary of the confederation, who stated plainly that the factory committees and the control to come later were but the first steps for completely ousting the capitalists, but that as the proletariat was not yet ripe for the actual direction of industry it would be thus in a position to obtain the necessary lessons and shortly replace the owners.

### Cost of Compromise.

When Giolitti promised in order to get the factories back peacefully that he would introduce a bill for the "control of factories" of course the Socialists were very much pleased. He got the factories back, but as the result of the reaction among the bourgeois and the development of the fascist he incidentally caused more blood to be spilled than if he had brought up a few four inch guns and turned out the workers. The truth of this is seen in the incidents at Turin this week, when, as a result of the burning of the Labor Hall, itself an act of reprisal, the Communists and Socialists occupied

the factories again. It only needed the arrival of an armored car and a few mitrailleuses to persuade them to evacuate quickly.

The whole question of control constitutes an entire remodelling of the social system of a country. It creates a new scale of relationship between employers and employed, landowners, farmers and peasants, which carries with it new conditions, the final development of which cannot be foretold. It also turns the economic life of the country upside down, and this Italy, which has had so many revolutions, social and political, cannot afford to-day. "Control," once started, cannot be confined to any one class of business.

This is shown by the fact that at the recent sitting of the Superior Council of Labor the representatives of the General Confederation of Labor presented an amendment demanding that control should also be extended to banks, stock companies, shipping companies and agriculture. As forecasted in Giolitti's bill, if carried to its logical conclusion the committee of control selected from the workers would very shortly become the actual masters of every

concern, whether a bank, an automobile factory or a stud farm. There would then be two masters in every concern: the actual proprietor, who, after years of toil, risk and responsibility, had succeeded in reaching his position, and the controllers, appointed by law, who may know nothing and certainly risk nothing. Such a position is, in reality, more likely to embitter the class struggle than bring peace and prosperity to all classes. Unfortunately, as the Onorevole Olivetti has pointed out to me, the war denaturalized industry. Production and sale were extremely easy. The State found the raw materials, the State bought the finished product. As a result of this the labor classes have imagined that industry is as easy as A, B, C, as well as being the most lucrative.

How this social crisis will end it is at present difficult to say. At the present time the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro comprises 2,500,000 members, not including the railway men, who have always in Italy, as elsewhere, preferred to act alone. It is well organized, but to-day it has to fight an organization which is perhaps stronger. The Fascists are the representatives of public opinion. They are a reaction of the middle classes

against Communist domination. The "lex talionis" is their law—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. When the Socialists turned from being a political party and became a party of direct action public indignation was aroused. Italy wants law and order. The country must not be ruined to please the disciples of Lenin. As the Government was unable to keep law and order the Fascists undertook it. When the Socialists have had enough they may be willing to return as a political party. If in the coming elections they are thoroughly trounced, as seems evident, they may be willing to accept the verdict of the country and get back to work, which would be better than any "control of factories." In any case Giolitti's bill will have to be greatly modified if it is to become law.

In to-morrow's instalment in The New York Herald of the articles on conditions in Italy the labor situation will be told in detail, both sides being given. Giolitti's iron policy, by which he believes he will down the dangerous radicals, appears to be gaining many converts and proving of aid to the country.

## FRENCH 'ACE' SEES DANGER IN GERMANY'S NEW PLANES

Rene Fonck Says Peace of World Is Menaced by  
Great Strides Being Made by Former foe in  
Production of 'Commercial' Aircraft.

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Paris, June 4.

Rene Fonck, French aviation ace, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, has become alarmed over the rapid development of Germany's so-called "commercial" airplanes.

"We know," he said to-day, "that there is really no difference between a military air machine and a camouflaged commercial airplane. It is only a question of whether passengers or bombs

are carried. If we disarm Germany in the air and on land as thoroughly as England has disarmed her on the seas, there will be no danger, but to-day we are right in fearing the gravest results of this neglect on our part, for the Germans are able to turn out three or four thousand airplanes monthly of a type which is convertible for military purposes."

M. Fonck has gathered evidence of Germany's unprecedented activities in aviation since the armistice, particularly regarding the use of light alloys in

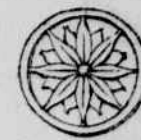
couplings and motors and of air compressor apparatus for the highest altitudes.

"German laboratories are working night and day," he continued. "We know that the Gottingen laboratories are the most perfect in the world and are being helped by important German capitalists. Not only is high resistance steel being used in the new airplanes in Germany, but also aluminum, the use of which is just beginning here. Moreover, a German invention known as elektron and being manufactured at Bitterfeld, is giving surprising results. Although we have been offered large supplies of elektron for our own use, we cannot accept it, as in the event of war it would be useless, as we have no knowledge of the process of its manufacture."

M. Fonck has reported to the Armament Commission regarding his personal investigation of Germany's air strength and resources, which has strengthened the belief here that Germany is rapidly reaching a point where she can produce airplanes capable of flying two hundred miles an hour and to turn them out at a rate which warrants the gravest fears regarding the future peace of Europe, or even the world.



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